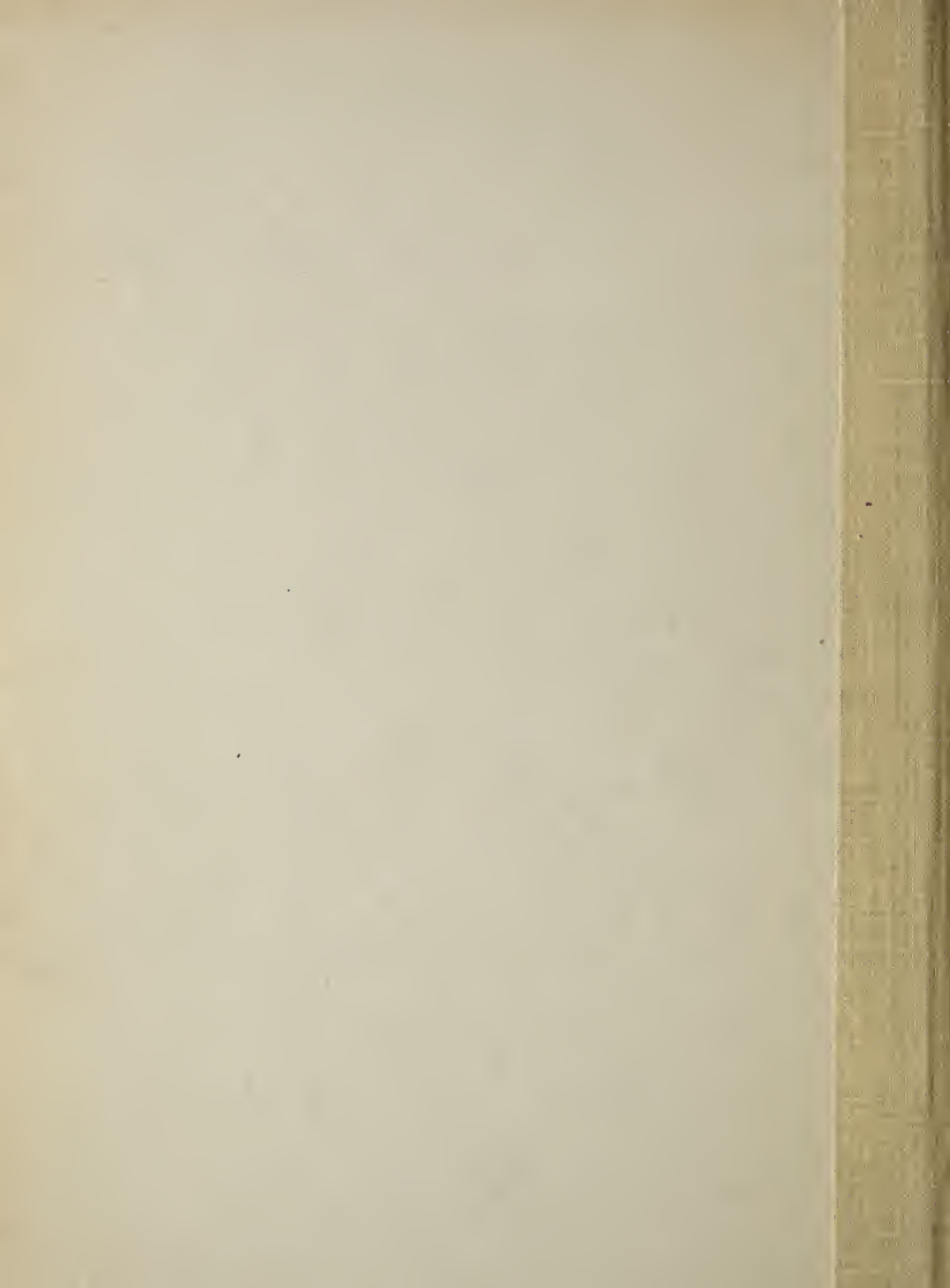


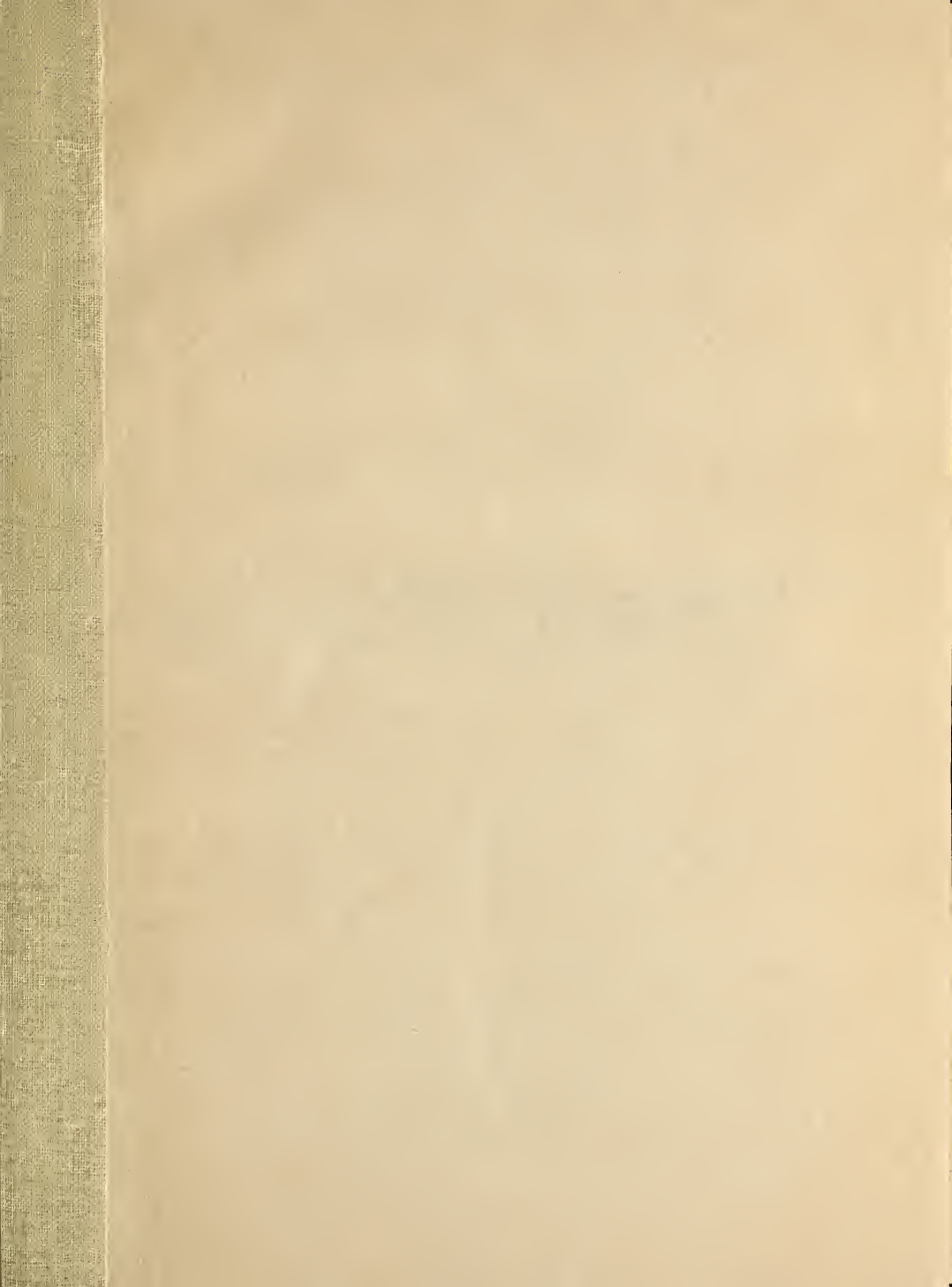
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DEMOCRACY HAS MADE GOOD

By

Democratic Party. North Carolina. State
Executive Committee





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STATE DEMOCRATIC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

RALEIGH, N. C.

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THIRD DISTRICT—T. D. Warren, New Bern; Nathan O'Berry, Goldsboro; E. J. Hill, Warsaw; G. D. Canfield, Morehead City; J. K. Dixon, Trenton; H. A. Grady, Clinton.

FOURTH DISTRICT—R. H. Hayes, Pittsboro; B. W. Ballard, Franklinton; J. P. Bunn, Rocky Mount; John M. Brewer, Wake Forest College; J. C. Kittrell, Henderson; Ed. S. Abell, Smithfield.

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EIGHTH DISTRICT—A. D. Watts, Statesville; J. M. Boyette, Albemarle; J. P. Cook, Concord; J. D. Norwood, Salisbury; T. C. Bowie, West Jefferson; A. S. Carson, Sparta.

NINTH DISTRICT—Edgar Love, Lincolnton; R. R. Ray, McAdenville; W. C. Feimster, Newton; J. H. Giles, Glen Alpine; J. A. Bell, Charlotte; Guy Roberts, Marshall.

TENTH DISTRICT—Charles A. Webb, Asheville; J. W. Haynes, Asheville; J. E. Carraway, Waynesville; S. Gallert, Rutherfordton; W. E. Breese, Brevard; Walter E. Moore, Jackson.

PRESIDENT WILSON

Man for the time,
Man of the hour,
Master for service,
Unmastered by power;
Master in deed,
Master in thought;
Leader, the spirit
Of Freedom has sought.

Arm that is strong,
Eye that is clear,
Will that's determined,
Heart without fear;
Armored in trust,
Democracy's knight,
Leading through blackness
With beacon of right.

LITTELL McCLUNG,
Editor *Farm and Immigration*.

DEMOCRATIC STATE PLATFORM

UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY NORTH CAROLINA DEMOCRATIC
STATE CONVENTION AT RALEIGH, APRIL 10, 1918

The Democratic party of North Carolina in convention assembled, in this hour of our country's great trial, takes pleasure in greeting our historic opponent, the Republican party, with assurances of our confidence in the loyalty of its membership to our common country, and we appeal to all of the citizenship of the State to subordinate all questions of internal policy about which the voters of the State disagree, in so far as the public welfare will permit, to the greater and graver questions involved in our foreign relations and the war which has been forced upon our country, and we earnestly appeal to all of the voters of the State, regardless of party affiliations, to manifest a spirit of moderation and justice in the discussion of all internal questions necessarily involved in the approaching election.

We endorse the time-honored principles of the Democratic party and point with pride to the fact that the platform declarations upon which the present administration in both State and nation were elected have been written into law.

We endorse the great record of the administration of our National Affairs, touching all internal policies. We recognize, however, that the supreme duty of the hour is loyalty to our government in the great struggle through which it must go in defense of the institutions of our country and human liberty throughout the world.

We declare it to be the conviction of the people of North Carolina that our country had no other course consistent with honor and self-respect than to enter the war against the autocratic and cruel imperial government of Germany. We believe that it was necessary for the perpetuation of the principles upon which our government is founded, and for the preservation of human liberty, not only in our own beloved country, but to liberty-loving people throughout the world.

Every intelligent citizen must recognize that the war with our brutal and liberty-hating foe involves everything dear to the people of the United States, and we pledge the lives, the fortunes, and all we are, to the loyal support of the constituted authorities of our great republic, and demand that the war shall be prosecuted to final and triumphant military victory over the government that assaulted our liberties and the liberties of the world.

That we commend the conduct of the war by the duly constituted authorities of our Republic without reservation. A nation devoted to the ways and the ideals of peace, our Republic has been put upon a war footing under the exacting standards of modern warfare, within so short a time as to cause every American to renew his pride and confidence in our Flag and institutions and to command the admiration of all nations.

North Carolina takes peculiar pride in the admitted fact that Josephus Daniels, as Secretary of the Navy, has brought this arm of the service up to such a degree of efficiency as to convert a storm of criticism into a universal hymn of praise.

We would not be true to our instincts did we not especially commend the course of the President of the United States. In all matters of internal character which the war has entailed he has given evidence of wisdom which we regard as providential and which has brought to him the trust and confidence of all Americans without regard to party alignments, and in all matters of international character with respect to relations with our Allies, to neutral nations and to our enemies, he has so conducted his great part as to win the title at home and abroad of "Moral Leader of the World."

We endorse the record of our Senators and Representatives in Congress and we note with just satisfaction that Senator F. M. Simmons has in all the great measures committed to his hands served the whole country with such zeal and ability, and has given to the President such effectual and unfailing support that no Democrat in the State has even thought of opposing him for renomination. As the head of the ticket this year we bespeak for him the largest majority of his career, so that the Nation

may continue to receive the benefit of his experience, wisdom, and patriotism.

STATE AFFAIRS

We commend to our people and heartily endorse the record of the administration of Governor Bickett, and all other State officials. The General Assembly of 1917 made notable advancements in the interest of popular education, public health, public morals, prison reform, and general remedial legislation.

The Democratic Party, both in State and Nation, has made a marvelous record of support of agriculture, the chief industry of our State, and we pledge ourselves to a continuance of this liberal and statesmanlike policy. The national administration has given us a rural credits law, aiding farmers to become homeowners, and similar beneficent legislation. And the last Legislature with its legislation regulating crop liens, aiding rural schools, encouraging agricultural instruction, providing for the incorporation of rural communities, and making unprecedented provision for encouraging rural recreation, has given an earnest of similar helpful State legislation our party will advance and promote.

We call special attention to the Governor's worthy efforts to translate tenants into landlords, and to that end heartily endorse and commend to our citizens the proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for the exemption from taxation of notes and mortgages given in good faith for the purchase price of a home, where the purchase price does not exceed three thousand dollars and where the notes and mortgages are made to run for not less than five or more than twenty years at interest not exceeding five and one-half per cent.

Education was never more necessary than in this time of jeopardized civilization for preparation of our children for the larger responsibilities and duties, for the fiercer competition, for the harder tasks of reconstruction and readjustment that are sure to follow this world-wide war, and for the preservation of all that our boys at the front and their Allies are fighting and dying to win.

That the Democratic Party renews its pledge to the fullest support of the public schools, pledges its support to the constitutional amendment for a six months school term, and calls upon all patriotic citizens of the State irrespective of party affiliation to vote for this amendment as a patriotic duty to the present and future generations of North Carolina children.

Recognizing the increased cost of living, we pledge the party to the enactment of laws that will secure to the school teachers of the State a just increase in salaries.

Pledging our continued support to the veterans of the Civil War and their widows, the educational, charitable and other institutions of the State, to clean and economical government, we appeal to the people of North Carolina to join us in the execution and perpetuation of our worthy ideals.

ADDRESS OF HON. VICTOR S. BRYANT, DURHAM, N. C., TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

Fellow Democrats and Gentlemen of the Convention:

While all agree with our distinguished State Chairman that this is not a time for partisan utterance, a loyal party man will be pardoned for thinking of the progress the State has made under the control of his party. It was nearly twenty years ago that a great Democratic convention, aroused, determined and indignant, assembled in this city, adopted a platform and inaugurated a campaign which drove from power the party then in control of every branch of the State government. The two decades which bridge the intervening time have been years of growth and advancement for the State. Wise and intelligent government has encouraged progress in many lines of human endeavor. Without fear and with courage we have faced troublesome questions and solved difficult problems. Each year a fiercer battle has been waged upon illiteracy and ignorance and the victory is more and more with learning and intelligence. Advancement has been made in public health, prison reform, and remedial legislation, morality, and religion have been fostered,

and today the influence of the man of God is wider and intemperance less than ever before. Fires of industrial enterprise burn everywhere in towns and cities, while pig clubs, corn clubs, canning clubs, and cognate organizations testify the interest of the young and old in the agricultural revolution in the State. There are but few counties without a railroad or a bank. Reduced freight and passenger rates prevail, and money can be had at low rates for legitimate enterprises. Improved highways facilitate travel throughout the State, and the efforts of our Governor to convert tenants into landlords are meeting with success.

These, and a hundred other evidences of progress and growth manifest the wisdom, intelligence, efficiency, and honesty of each department of the State government under Democratic control. Legislation has been characterized by conservatism and foresight. Learned and able judges preside over our courts and administer our laws. With but five members the Supreme Court decides a mass of litigation, writes opinions annually that fill three volumes, and clears the docket every term.

And the Executive branch of the Government has equaled the legislative and judicial. Law and order, peace and prosperity, growth and progress characterized the administration of Aycock and Glenn, Kitchin and Craig. They were tarnished by no scandal, and marred by no bitterness. History will favorably compare theirs with the records of the best of their predecessors.

But we are not here today to dwell in the past. Assembled as representatives of the dominant political party, in the State and Nation, we must assume the responsibilities and face the duties of the hour. They are the gravest in history, and there is no precedent to guide us. The present and the near future call for the strength of every man, the wisdom of all parties. What we have been taught to revere and hold most sacred is threatened. Virtue of women, the lives of children, sacredness of treaty, the continuance of popular government, and the reign of the Prince of Peace are in jeopardy. The burden of the responsibility is ours, though the situation is not of our creation.

For thirty months after the beginning of this war we endeavored to maintain neutrality, in thought and in action. Our President pursued this policy, persistently, despite partisan and bit-

ter criticism. A student of history and of government, he was acquainted with our policies and traditions. He knew ours was a government of the people and could only move successfully when supported by public sentiment. Washington, and other wise statesmen, had taught that we had no part in European politics and entangling alliances were to be avoided. The citizenship of America had accepted their teachings.

While amazed that civilized nations should make the assassination of a prince by a foolish boy an excuse for war; shocked at the violation of the Belgian treaty, and horrified at ruthless destruction of cathedrals and mutilation of women and children, our people felt they had no part in it, and such European crimes furnished no cause for abandoning the teachings of the fathers and the traditions of a century.

When Germany sought to establish a paper blockade and gave notice that neutral ships entering English ports might be sunk by mistake, the President gave warning that such action was in violation of the laws of nations, and our Government would hold Germany responsible for injury done property or citizens. When despite this warning German submarines destroyed our property and ruthlessly murdered American citizens rightfully traveling upon the seas, it was a righteous cause of war, but our peace loving President preferred diplomacy to the sword, and wrested from Imperial Germany a promise to observe the rules of international law.

But history disclosed the promise of Germany was but a subterfuge for delay. Her submarine policy had been abandoned, not because of love for right, but because at that time she was unprepared to maintain it successfully. When preparations were complete, with but a day's notice, she unscrupulously broke her promise and renewed submarine attacks. While her ambassador was entertained by our Government, while protection was accorded her property, and our President was interceding for a "peace without victory" she secretly sought to involve us in war with Mexico, and was offering to parcel out sovereign American states.

The mask was off, Germany was already waging war on us. The path of peace was no longer the path of honor. We had to fight.

Facing the greatest military autocracy on earth we found our country unprepared. It is useless now to discuss the reasons why. Having decried military government from the birth of the Republic we had never maintained a great army, nor a strong navy. Therefore criticism of this unpreparedness ill becomes any party, or any men, but the last of all to indulge in it should be that party and leaders of that party which controlled the policies of this Republic for fifty years.

Realizing the seriousness of the task confronting us, all the powers of Government were set in motion to use our utmost strength. Slackers and carping critics within and without Congress have retarded progress, but despite it all no other nation at any time has accomplished so much in an equal period. We have a navy of a thousand ships and 300,000 men. Five hundred thousand soldiers, fully armed and equipped, either fight or are now in camp on the battlefields of France. A million more are drilling, marching, and training here. As fast as modern conveyances will carry them they are hurrying to the front. Within three days during this past week twenty thousand passed through a city of this State over one line of railway.

Other millions have been drawn, are being classified, assembled and equipped for service. So thoroughly have our camps been safeguarded that the death rate has been less than the normal death rate among civilians. A perfect financial system has met the exigencies of the hour without jar or strain, and conservation of food and fuel have enabled us to feed our troops and those of the allies, in part, without any suffering at home. Wise foresight has provided insurance in lieu of pensions to protect relatives and dependents. Arms are being manufactured, munitions provided, and transportation secured as rapidly as labor and machinery will permit. Thus are we equipped to fight under the sea, upon the sea, and on the land, and soon we will have an army in the air.

Men who value political success above patriotism, who prefer pulling back to pushing forward, who can criticise but never help, tear down but never build up, may nag, worry and retard those carrying the burdens, but intelligent men know, and honest men will admit the annals of the past, nor the records of other nations now engaged in war, will disclose the accomplishment

of so much in so limited time. Although this has been achieved by a Democratic administration, we boast not of it as a party accomplishment, for patriotic Republicans have given ungrudging support.

While we have done much it is now evident more remains to be done. Undoubtedly many did once underestimate the dangers which confronted us. Some believed and said Germany wanted the United States in the war to make terms of peace easier for her. "Lay not that flattering unction to your soul." Germany expected then, and expects now, to triumph. The Kaiser is both a genius and a fanatic. He believes God is fighting with him, and doubts not the combination will win. Ambitious for more renown than came to Alexander, Cæsar, or Napoleon he expects to conquer the world. Frankly he says peace shall not come until his enemies admit that his armies have been victorious. Thus he seeks to control by force and impress on the universe his autocratic theory of government. His terms of peace embrace the acquisition of territory in Europe and Asia, the collection of indemnity from the United States, the control of world trade, and reshaping the policies of those governments founded upon the consent of the governed.

Germany may or may not have had these terms in mind in July, 1914, but such is the meaning of her warfare today. Whatever mist may have obscured the issue in the past has been swept away. We now see and thoroughly understand the causes back of this world conflict. The assassination of a prince in the Bosnian capital has been forgotten, and we are thinking less of the wrongs of the Belgians. The fight is now the age-long conflict between autocracy and democracy. From Marathon to Verdun it has been waged. History says autocracy was exterminated in America, at Yorktown, and in Europe at Waterloo. Patriots of the Revolution thought democracy perpetuated in the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. But today we fight again for a government of the people against a government by force. Allied victory alone will make America again what she was in 1914. In order to preserve our form of government we must win the war. German victory or inconclusive peace will swing back

the tide of time 150 years. Either will make America an armed camp.

Victory is the supreme duty of the hour. It must be made certain, defeat impossible. Any division which lessens our strength or weakens our force now is criminal.

"Who saves his country, saves all things, and all things saved will bless him. Who lets his country die, lets all things die, and all things dying curse him."

This nation demands—has the right to demand—both the loyal and united support of all parties and all Americans. Success and safety alike demand that party strife be held in abeyance now, while the life of the country is at stake. Reverence for ancestors who shed blood and surrendered life to establish freedom here; love of womanhood whose virtue is not respected by the Huns; and duty to those who will come after us alike demand there shall be neither division nor bitterness now.

Therefore, in this supreme hour, when the contest between autocracy and democracy is being decided, when the battle for popular government wavers in the balance, we must unitedly strive with all our will, and with all our strength that "government of the people, for the people, and by the people shall not perish from the earth."

Then let ours—the dominant party in State and Nation—resolve:

Our powers shall not be lessened, nor our energies weakened by partisan strife.

Matters of internal policy in the State and Nation shall, for the present, be subordinated in order that the United States and her allies may win the war.

Notwithstanding the need for the utmost thrift, frugality, and economy, in public as well as private affairs, we must, without stint, keep burning the fires of learning—for educated men and women will be needed, as never before, when the day of peace shall come again. Suspension of schools by reason of the Civil War retarded our State a generation, and that mistake must not be repeated now.

Worthy charities too, must be sustained, for he who provides not for his own is worse than an infidel. If necessary, a

soldier would do on a little less, to provide room in a hospital for the unfortunate insane. But a worthy and patriotic State will provide for both.

With our means, and all our powers, mental and physical, we will loyally support the duly constituted authorities in their efforts for victory; and during this war we will not say or do anything that will weaken our government, or give aid and comfort to the enemy;

And we will fight the foe at home and abroad, until he is overcome and his policies utterly destroyed.

Without murmur or complaint we will conform to the plans and policies of those in control. Happily this task is not arduous, and the duty easy. Rarely, if ever has any leader of men, under any form of government, so inspired confidence as our commander-in-chief. Many proclaim him the greatest of Presidents, while others rank him with Washington and Lincoln. A student of history, familiar with political science, he entered his high office with unusual equipment. An author of repute, his keen intellect was stored with knowledge, and trained by application. Conscientiously devoted to the discharge of duty and fond of study, he willingly and steadily applied his talents to the problems incident to his exalted position. These have increased with his years of service, but his energies have not slackened, nor his devotion to humanity waned. In addition to the ordinary duties of President he has discharged some usually assigned to the Secretary of State. His state papers have elicited the praise of statesmen of opposing political parties as well as his own. So perfect is his mastery of statecraft, so forceful and clear is his power of statement, so unselfish is his purpose that the world, groaning under the tragedies of today turns to him for guidance. Eliminate him and it would grope in darkness. He is the moral and intellectual leader of those who would save mankind. Not only as the head of our party, the President of our country, but as the hope of humanity, as it staggers through this tragedy, he is entitled to our help and our support.

And well is our citizenship responding. For true to her traditions, North Carolina is doing her part. She met the request

of the government for more food products in 1917 by increasing hers 50 per cent. Some of her industrial enterprises are furnishing the government their entire output, though this means disappointment to long-time customers. Her factories and fields are in the service of the nation. Graciously she has responded to the calls of the Red Cross and has over-subscribed her allotment in the first and second Liberty Bond campaign and will do the same for War Savings Stamps and the third Liberty Loan. Her patriotic son, who now occupies the Gubernatorial chair, has devoted, and is now devoting his time, his brain and his effective oratory to the service of his country. Throughout the State his eloquence, his zeal, and his enthusiasm have aroused a healthy public sentiment. The entire influence of his administration has been used in allaying dissent and dissatisfaction, and rebuking and shaming the slacker. His labors in this hour recall the services of the immortal Vance during the Civil War.

All North Carolinians find pride in the fact that an important arm of the government is in charge of a North Carolina Democrat. The victim of malice, caste spirit, envy and partisan prejudice, he was subjected to jeers, derision, humiliation, and criticism. Today the navy is a subject of praise from Democrats and Republicans alike. That part of the press once bitter, critical, and denunciatory of Mr. Josephus Daniels, now joins with his friends and supporters in speaking his praise.

The delegation from North Carolina in the House and in the Senate is 100 per cent loyal. These twelve conspicuous Democrats are giving our President and our country whole-hearted and efficient support. The ability of our senior Senator has secured him commanding place in the Senate of the United States. His devotion to duty, and his success in bringing things to pass have been so conspicuous as to elicit praise from both associates and opponents. Many thousands who opposed Senator Simmons in his last campaign before the public now gladly accord him support. They will welcome the opportunity of returning him to the Senate. Senator Overman is leading the effort to give the President full power to coördinate the departments of the Government. With eloquence, ability and tact he is endeavoring to overcome opposition and unite our strength in prose-

cuting the war. At other times in her history North Carolina has been represented in the Senate of the United States by eminent statesmen, but at no time have her representatives exerted wider or more wholesome influence than now.

Another brilliant North Carolina Democrat is majority leader of the House of Representatives. As Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee he shapes the revenue bills, and frames legislation, which collects more taxes than have ever been levied before by any nation. Peer in debate of any member of the House of Representatives, Claude Kitchin honors his party and his State. Nine other distinguished sons of the State by attention to duty, loyalty to their President and devotion to their country are conspicuous in a group of distinguished statesmen. Were all the states of this Union as ably represented as ours in the present Congress, there would be less delay in legislation, no divided counsel, patriotic support of America's cause, and early triumph over her foe.

Division here only delays our victory. For, my countrymen, despite the success of German arms in the East, and the bending back of the allied line on the West, a united America will make victory sure. "Thrice armed is he whose cause is just." However well trained her soldiers, or skilled her scientists, or complete her preparation, Germany's cause is not just. Her armies strive to limit freedom, and extend autocratic power. Those who maim and ravish women, or mutilate and kill children, will not fight long to perpetuate the rule of military despots, who ignore the laws of man, of nations, and of God.

Victory may not come today, nor tomorrow, this week, or next, but come it surely will, for 500,000 free-born American soldiers are on the bloody fields of France. Soon they will be joined by a million more. Back of these are other millions still. Behind all is the moral force and financial power of a hundred million souls enamored of freedom, determined to meet the Hun with "force, force to the utmost; force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

A NECESSARY CAMPAIGN

(*Raleigh News and Observer*)

If President Wilson were regularly before the people for reelection this year, and were defeated, his defeat would be a disaster to the cause of the allies equal to the loss of an important battle on the western front. Only second in importance as a political event of world significance would be the defeat of Mr. Wilson's party in the election of an opposition majority in either or both branches of Congress. Such a result would be heralded with great satisfaction throughout the Central Empires, and would be accepted by the enemy as a weakening of the "will to victory" on the part of the American people, and would inspire in the German people a new faith in their military leaders. It is not enough that Republicans are as loyally supporting the war program as Democrats. Mr. Wilson should have the support and control which can be given by a majority of his own political faith in both branches of Congress. With Democratic control in either house depending upon a thread so slender that the defeat of any one of the Democratic candidates in this State would probably break it, it becomes a matter of the highest importance that no steps should be left untaken to insure the election of a Democratic Senator and ten Democratic Congressmen from this State.

This is not a time when the opposition party should expect or wish to make inroads on the party in power.

It is not a time when personal interests should be pushed upon the screen.

It is not a time when independent candidates should air their views or alleged grievances before the public.

Above all it is not a time that will permit of anything in the nature of submarine attacks upon those in authority.

The Republicans have nominated practically a full ticket all the way down the line in this State. If there is any convincing reason why John M. Morehead should be elected to supplant the tried and faithful F. M. Simmons in the Senate it should be fully and fairly presented to the public for public consideration. He has been one of the most faithful and the most resourceful of

the President's supporters in the Senate. His long service, his influential official position and his high position in the esteem and confidence of all his colleagues has permitted him to shape majority concert of action in the Senate upon legislation of the greatest moment ever considered by an American Congress. Should the people of North Carolina be indifferent to the suggestion of our Republican friends that he be turned out and his high position be made impotent by the election of Mr. Morehead, at this crisis in world history, or that the issue thus raised be left to the haphazard of a silent or bushwhacking campaign?

The same reason and logic apply in less degree only to the ten Congressmen from this State. Every one of them is vitally needed in Congress, not only because of their superior equipment of experience, but because the defeat of any one of them might easily mean the reorganization of the House by the party in opposition to the President. The President should not be subjected to this embarrassment during this world crisis, which he is managing with unexampled skill, nor should the people of North Carolina be indifferent to any suggestion that this be done.

Our Republican friends have entirely misconstrued the suggestion of our generous and patriotic Governor. After they have challenged Democratic supremacy in every department of government possible in State and Nation by the nomination of a Republican candidate for practically every public office that is open to election this year, they then suggest that the issue be submitted to the people without public discussion.

Public discussion should, as a matter of course, be in keeping with the dignity of these momentous times. Incidental and unimportant matters should not be crowded upon public attention, but it seems to us there has never been a time when those in high authority could with more propriety be asked to present to the people their views upon the great problems that have engaged their attention these recent years, and that are now impending, or a time which called for more earnest effort upon the part of the people to maintain and support with increased majorities those who have so conspicuously served the State and Nation.

In addition to a United States Senator and ten Congressmen

to be elected in North Carolina in November there is a State General Assembly, a majority of our State Supreme Court, two members of the Corporation Commission, ten judges of our Superior Courts, twenty solicitors, and a full county ticket in every county in the State. These are all matters worthy of our best attention, and should not be left to accident or chance.

EXTRACTS FROM PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE, APRIL 2, 1917

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free people, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. *The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare, adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has therefore not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the ambassador recently accredited to this Government by the Imperial and Royal Government of Austro-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations*

with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only when we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights. [War was declared on Austria subsequently to the delivery of this message.]

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not with enmity toward a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, *but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.*

We are, let me say again, *the sincere friends of the German people*, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us, however hard it may be for them for the time being to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, *exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible.*

We shall happily still have an opportunity to prove that *friendship is our daily attitude and action toward the millions of men and women of German birth* and native sympathy who live among us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the Government in the hour of test. They are most of them as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, *civilization itself seeming to be in the balance.*

But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

God helping her, she can do no other.

THE PARTY WITH A REAL PURPOSE

The policies upon which administration candidates for Congress will seek endorsement by the voters this fall are embodied in the platform recently adopted by the Indiana Democratic State Convention.

The national program enunciated at Indianapolis is understood to have the complete approval of Democratic leaders in Congress, and undoubtedly will form the basis of platforms to be adopted in Democratic State conventions yet to be held.

Unlike the Republican politicians, who, according to Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, are embarking upon an "uncharted sea," the spokesman of the Democratic party are fully cognizant of the problems of the day and have well defined ideas as to their solution.

The following paragraphs, culled from the Indiana platform, attest the breadth of the Democratic vision:

I. The immediate purpose of the Democratic party, the purpose which takes precedence of every other, is to win the war. The fate of true democracy everywhere depends upon its being won. Its object is to rid the world once for all of the threat of violence and injustice which must hang over it so long as there

is anywhere an autocratic government which can disturb its peace or dominate its fortunes. The outrages against right which Germany has committed have directly touched our own citizens and our own liberties; and they have done much more than that. They have threatened right and liberty everywhere, and Germany must be brought to terms by such a victory as will leave no doubt in the minds of her rulers and her people as to what forces control mankind. We entered upon our present course in self-defense to resist a menacing assault, directed against our freedom and our national integrity; we shall not abandon it until our objective is definitely attained.

II. Because we mean to win the war, it is our purpose to support and sustain to the utmost the administration of Woodrow Wilson. His administration can better be supported by those who believe in it and trust it than by those who are constantly eager to make a selfish use of what they conceive to be its mistakes. It is, therefore, our purpose to supply the administration in our nominees with men who are its real and unquestionable friends.

III. We are confirmed and strengthened in our support of the administration, and are in full harmony with it, not merely because we are at war and must stand behind the only common instrumentality through which we can win it, but also because the administration has deserved our confidence by its record.

IV. Our purposes look also beyond the period of the war. We recognize that the war must of necessity be followed by a period of reconstruction, to whose problems it will be necessary that the best, most sympathetic and most liberal minds of the country should be devoted. Those problems will, some of them, be new, and many of them, though old problems, will wear a new aspect and significance. They must be approached without regard to old party catch-words, formulas or prepossessions, in full recognition of the fact that they are new and must be dealt with in a new way.

V. As full a development as possible of vocational training must be undertaken, particular attention being given to the rehabilitation of those who have been in one way or another disabled by the war. Opportunities for their industrial employ-

ment must be sought and they must be equipped to take advantage of those opportunities.

VI. And not in their case alone must the sympathetic aid of the Federal Government be given to the allocation of labor, the development of its skill and the establishment of proper labor conditions, but such services must be rendered all laborers and systematic effort must be made to raise the whole level of labor conditions and facilitate the access of labor to employment and the improvement of its preparation and training.

VII. We must seek to avoid in the future the conflicts between capital and labor which have been all too frequent in the past, and must seek to do so by measures of coördination such as we have hitherto not attempted. The statesmanship of the country must be devoted to this fundamental and all-important task whose successful working out is a condition precedent to harmonious democracy. Provision must be made for the settlement of all questions upon the single basis of fairness and justice.

VIII. The whole industry of the country must be dealt with in the most liberal and enlightened manner. Raw materials and all universal essentials, like coal and electric power, must be made accessible to all upon equal and equitable terms. The natural resources of the country must be systematically developed where they have been neglected or their development delayed. Arid and waste lands must be reclaimed and agriculture in general further sustained and encouraged. New industries must be fostered and the barriers removed which have stood in the way of old ones, and the thought of the nation devoted to every impartial process by which the industrial prosperity of the country may be secured by methods which will absolutely exclude monopoly.

IX. Railway transportation must be controlled in such a way as to assure complete coördination, adequate development and the equal service of the railways in every field of economic activity. The water transportation of the country must be developed in such a way as adequately to supplement, and, wherever advantageous, parallel the transportation systems of the railways.

X. A budget system for the Federal Government has become

an imperative necessity, and the legislative and executive branches of the Government should work together for its establishment.

XI. There must be a single test and standard for every public policy. Every measure must be put to this test: Is it just? Is it for the benefit of the average man without influence or privilege? Does it in real fact embody the highest conception of social justice and of right dealing without regard to person or class or special interest?

WILSON ADMINISTRATION MASTERS WAR PROBLEMS

Even partisan critics admit that the Democratic party is constructive and capable of mastering the great economic problems of a world war. Why? Because they cannot escape these unprecedented achievements of a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress:

The Federal Reserve Law, conceived and executed before Germany set the universe on fire, enabled America not only to face the greatest conflict in all history without a tremor, but has placed the country upon a sound and stable basis; has emancipated industrial and commercial interests from domination by special interests; freed the nation from the danger of financial panics and made possible the wonderful existing prosperity.

The Farm Loan Act, passed as an economic measure before the United States was a belligerent, has given to farmers at reasonable rates of interest the means of raising necessary crops, needed to feed our Army and Navy and civilian population and the people of our Allies. The operation of the system has had the effect of realizing a reduction of at least one per cent in the average rate of interest on farm loans.

Government Control of Railroads has eliminated obstructive competition which previously hampered privately operated carriers and has speeded up production of war essentials by expediting transportation. The public, the railroad employees and the stockholders all have derived benefits from this progressive step. The public gained through the eradication of cut-throat methods;

the employee gained through increased wages and fair working hours, and the stockholder gained by a guaranteed return on his investment.

The War Finance Corporation provides essential credits for industries and enterprises necessary or contributory to the prosecution of the war. It extends needed aid to war industries to enable them to meet the demands of the country, and insures a continuous and adequate flow of supplies to our soldiers and Allies.

The Alien Property Custodian is placing millions of German-owned and German-controlled dollars in the United States at the disposal of the Government, to be used against Germany during the war.

The War Trade Board, under Presidential proclamation, is carrying on an economic warfare that prevents trade with the enemy. Controlling all exports from and imports to the United States, the War Trade Board has rendered exceptional service to the country and our Allies.

War Risk Insurance not only fortifies the soldier and sailor and their dependents in the event of death or injury, but likewise insures American merchant ship owners, masters, and crews against the loss of vessels, death or injury while carrying supplies overseas to our troops and our Allies in Europe. Because of the Navy's effective work in the submarine zone the Marine Insurance rate on hulls and cargoes has been reduced from 6½ to 2 per cent since the beginning of the war.

Dependents of our fighting men, in addition to being assured indemnities and compensation if their loved ones make the supreme sacrifice, also are aided by the Government through a system of allotments and allowances during the war period.

The tariff has been removed from politics by the creation of the Tariff Commission, a nonpartisan body, which is quietly but effectively providing means of protection to American manufacturers against any emergency which may follow the close of the war.

War revenue problems have been solved by the Administration through the enactment of equitable tax laws which place the burden of financing the war upon those best able to pay. The

program includes income tax increases, an inheritance tax and a special tax levy upon munitions of war.

The Federal Trade Commission has supplied the demand for a tribunal to arbitrate commercial disputes, to prevent "unfair competition" and to do justice between the public and the great industrial corporations.

The Ship Purchase Act and the Merchant Marine law, in the face of determined opposition by Republican reactionaries, who stubbornly opposed the Government entering the ship-building business more than a year before America entered the war, has enabled the establishment of great ship yards where records are daily being made in the building and launching of vessels for overseas commerce.

Agricultural extension through the medium of the Smith-Lever Act, has become a reality, and with the aid of the Government the productiveness of American farms is steadily increasing.

Labor's Magna Charta is the rightful term that has been applied to the series of humane laws that have been enacted and put into operation by the Wilson Administration in the interest of the workingman and woman. In this same connection may be mentioned the great social justice measure that emancipated children from industrial oppression and assures them education instead of factory slavery.

The jobless man and the manless job have been brought together through an intelligence system in the Department of Labor. While the war has reduced the labor supply and given every man not in the army or navy an opportunity to obtain work the fact remains that before the war steps had been taken to solve the unemployment problem.

Vocational education, long talked of in legislative halls, is no longer a dream, but is rapidly becoming an actuality under the laws passed by a Democratic Congress. The system in operation insures the training of the youth of the land in useful occupations.

Facilities for aiding American conquests of foreign markets have been added and administered with conspicuous success through the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce.

STAND BY THE PRESIDENT

The official organ of the Republican National Committee—a weekly paper published in Washington—hotly resents the suggestion that the people should “Support the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy” by electing to Congress this Fall men who will stand by the President and his war policies. Under the heading, “The People Will Punish the Patrioteers at the Polls,” the mouthpiece of the Republican national organization lamely seeks to justify its virtual demand that opponents rather than supporters of the Administration be entrusted with legislative commissions by the voters.

Unity of action in Washington is as essential to the success of the war as unity of command is essential to military success on the battlefields of Europe. This is not a theory; it is a fact. In past wars the people of America invariably have stood by the party in power during the heat of the conflict. They supported Lincoln in the trying days of the Civil War, in response to his historic appeal “not to swap horses while crossing a river”; they supported McKinley during the Spanish-American war, and they will support Wilson during this greatest of all wars.

The appeals of Lincoln’s day and McKinley’s day are as appropriate now as they were then. It may be distasteful to certain Republican leaders, who, for one reason or another, believe it incumbent upon them to criticize the President today, to have quoted the speeches they made twenty years ago when their party was in power, but they must, in fairness, concede that the arguments then used may now be applied with equal force.

Typical of many was the appeal made in 1898 by Colonel Roosevelt, then candidate for Governor of New York. He said: “Remember that whether you will or not, your votes this year will be viewed by the nations of Europe from one standpoint only. They will draw no fine distinctions. A refusal to sustain the President this year, will, in their eyes, be read as a refusal to sustain the war and to sustain the efforts of our peace commission to secure the fruits of war. Such a refusal may not inconceivably bring about a rupture of the peace negotiations. It will give heart to our defeated antagonists; it will make pos-

sible the interference of those doubtful neutral nations, who in this struggle have wished us ill."

In similar tenor former President Benjamin Harrison pleaded for the election of a Republican Congress to support McKinley. He is quoted in the Philadelphia *North American* of November 1, 1898, as saying:

"If the word goes forth that the people of the United States are standing solidly behind the President, the task of the Peace Commissioners will be easy, but if there is a break in the ranks—if the Democrats score a telling victory, if Democratic Senators, Congressmen, and Governors are elected—Spain will see in it a gleam of hope, she will take fresh hope, and a renewal of hostilities, more war, may be necessary to secure to us what we have already won."

The Republican press of the country editorially took the same position. Throughout the congressional campaign of 1898 they made the concerted appeal to the people to support the President, that defeat of his party at polls should not be misinterpreted in the capitals of Europe, and particularly in Madrid.

"We are at war with Spain," said the New York *Sun* at the time, "peace commissions and peace jubilees to the contrary notwithstanding. Upon President McKinley and his administration are yet the burdens and responsibilities of a state of war not yet terminated. And upon all patriotic citizens of every political party rests the duty of supporting the administration and sustaining the Nation's cause against all foreign enemies, both by voice and by vote."

Said the Philadelphia *North American* on the morning of the election, November 8, 1898:

"The voters will decide today whether the administration of President McKinley is to be condemned and the conduct of the war vetoed."

When the Republicans scored a victory at the polls, the *North American* accepted the result as a vindication of the national honor, and added:

"It is a great triumph and must be a source of deep satisfaction and profound relief to our much-tried, much-enduring President. His policies and the policies of the party which he

represents have been approved. He can now proceed, encouraged and unhindered, with their execution."

The Topeka (Kan.) *Daily Capital*, in an editorial, on November 3, 1898, took this view:

"The Republican party puts it to the good sense of the country whether or not the election of a Congress in sympathy with a President who has shown himself equal to every test would be for the best interests of the country at this time. . . . In such a campaign no American worthy of the franchise should neglect his privilege to vote, and every man who believes in stalwart aggressive Americanism should hold up the hands of the stalwart American in the White House, and see that his friends and neighbors do the same."

The Chicago *Tribune*, on election morning in 1898, called on the voters to elect only Republican Congressmen in this language:

"Whatever voters elsewhere may do, those in Chicago should show their appreciation of all the President has done and will do, if not hindered, by reëlecting the seven Republican Congressmen. They will support the President's policy."

The Kansas City *Star's* editorial of November 3, 1898, said

"The people have stood together, regardless of politics, in supporting the Government in prosecuting the war, and there is sound logic in the contention of the Republicans that there should be no change in the control of Congress until the issues arising out of the war are settled."

Out on the Pacific Coast a like sentiment prevailed, as witness the following from the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*:

"The people believe in and trust the President; they are proud of the achievements of the army and navy; they have confidence in the wisdom of the administration's policy and express their confidence by electing members of Congress who will work in harmony with and aid the President in his plans."

And the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* observed:

"A Congress hostile to the executive would multiply the difficulties needlessly and dangerously."

If then, why not now?

SECRETARY DANIELS'S VINDICATION

(From the *New York World*)

In a commencement day address at Brown University, Senator Lodge said:

"Have you heard of any investigations or criticisms of our Navy? I have heard of none, and I am fairly familiar with it as a member of the Naval Affairs Committee. The Navy has done extremely well. Secretary Daniels has made no statements to the public of what he hoped to do. He has not said in 1917 what he is going to do in 1918. All he says is what has been accomplished. He has strong men as his bureau heads. He deserves credit for having selected them."

This is a fine, generous tribute to Secretary Daniels, who for years was the most abused and most ridiculed member of the Cabinet. There was a time not so long ago that *The World* was almost the only important newspaper in the East that gave the Secretary any support or encouragement in carrying out the policies which the war has so brilliantly vindicated.

As Senator Lodge says, nobody now criticises the Navy. Its efficiency is everywhere recognized. There are no more silly, hysterical demands for Mr. Daniels's resignation. The "misfit" has proved himself to be one of the greatest Secretaries of the Navy that the country ever had.

WAR DEPARTMENT'S GREAT RECORD

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON MILITARY AFFAIRS—REPUBLICANS AND
DEMOCRATS ALIKE—CONGRATULATES SECRETARY BAKER
UPON REMARKABLE ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Washington, D. C.—The announcement on July 4 that one million American soldiers had been safely transported to France to give battle to the Hun on the Western front served to focus attention upon the great accomplishments of the War Department under the directions of Secretary Baker.

At the request of the House Committee on Military Affairs the

Secretary submitted to Congress a summary of the progress made during the fifteen months America has been at war. The manner in which the statement was received is revealed in the following letter:

July 3, 1918.

HON. NEWTON D. BAKER,

Secretary of War, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Your letter, in response to one from me requesting a summary of military achievements since the declaration of war, and particularly during the past twelve months, was read to the Committee on Military Affairs at a meeting this week.

At this meeting there were 19, out of a total membership of 21, present.

Upon motion of Mr. Kahn, of California, I was unanimously instructed, as chairman of the committee, to extend to you and your department our hearty congratulations upon the remarkable accomplishments as disclosed by your very interesting letter.

I was further instructed to place these facts in the *Congressional Record*.

I take great personal pleasure in communicating to you this action of the committee.

Yours very sincerely,

S. H. DENT, JR.,
Chairman.

The Secretary's letter which drew forth the tribute quoted above disclosed:

Since April 6, 1917, the Regular Army has increased from 5,791 officers and 121,797 enlisted men to 11,365 officers and 514,376 enlisted men; the National Guard in Federal service, from 3,733 officers and 76,713 enlisted men to 17,070 officers and 417,441 enlisted men; the Reserve Corps in actual service has increased from 4,000 enlisted men to 31,968 officers and 78,560 enlisted men; the National Army has been created, with an enlisted force of approximately 1,000,000 men.

The army has increased in fourteen months from 9,524 offi-

cers and 202,510 enlisted men to approximately 160,400 officers and 2,010,000 enlisted men.

The number of men in France or en route to France, including combatants, medical service, service for supply, and all the units which go to make up an entire army, is on July 1, practically 1,000,000 men.

The death rate per thousand among all troops—Regulars, National Army, and National Guard—in the United States for the week ending May 31 was 4.89, and for the week ending June 7, 4.14. The death rate for disease only among all troops in the United States for the week ending June 7 was 3.16, which is still lower than that of the preceding week (3.2), which was then the record low rate since that of November 2, 1917.

Transportation in France: With the completion of the organization of 5 new regiments and 19 battalions of railway engineers there will be over 45,000 Americans engaged in railroad construction and operation in France. Nine regiments of railway engineers have been in France since last August.

There have been produced from the railroad operations of the War Department in France more than 22,000 standard gauge and 60 C. M. freight cars, and more than 1,600 standard gauge and 60 C. M. locomotives. In addition to this, purchases of both cars and locomotives have been made abroad.

A double line of railroad communication has been secured from the French by Army Engineers, extending from the coast of France to the battle front, including the construction of hundreds of miles of trackage for yards and the necessary sidings, switches, etc.

Aircraft production (training planes, bombing planes, combat planes, and guns therefor, and production of Liberty engines):

Deliveries of elementary training planes to June 8-----	4,495
Deliveries of advanced training planes to June 8-----	820

The average weekly production of advanced-training planes during April was 22; during May was 45½; week ending June 8 was 78.

To June 8, 286 combat planes were delivered. The weekly

average of the type of machine in April was 5; in May 38; and for the week ending June 8 was 80.

Six thousand eight hundred and eighty elementary-training engines were delivered to June 8; 2,133 advanced-training engines were delivered to same date.

More than 2,000 Liberty engines have now been delivered to the Army and Navy. The average weekly production in April was 96, in May 143, and in the first week of June 115.

Thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty machine guns were delivered for use on aeroplanes before June 8.

Rifles and ammunition: More than 1,300,000 rifles were produced in America and delivered between the declaration of war and June 1 of this year.

Deliveries of new United States model 1917, the so-called modified Enfield, have passed the million mark. In the two weeks preceding June 1 more than 66,000 rifles were delivered. Sufficient rifles are being received now to equip an Army division every three days.

Ordnance supplies, artillery, Browning guns, etc.: As to machine guns, heavy Browning guns for instruction purposes are in every National Guard camp and National Army cantonment in this country where troops are in training. During May more than 900 of these heavy machine guns were delivered.

More than 1,800 light Browning machine guns were delivered in May.

Probably the most difficult undertaking in the outfitting of an army is the manufacture of heavy artillery. Not only are the forging and machining processes extremely difficult, but it has been necessary to create manufacturing facilities for a vast proportion of the program. Sixteen plants had to be provided for the manufacture of mobile artillery cannon. In practically all cases these plants had to be retooled, and in some cases they were built from the ground up. The same difficulty is met in the design and manufacture of artillery carriages, but the artillery program is now approaching a point where quantity production is beginning.

The first of four government-owned shell-fitting plants has

been completed and is beginning to produce. In addition, a number of private plants are at work loading shells.

Vast as were the privately owned facilities for the manufacture of powder and high explosives, the government has provided additional facilities which are very much larger than those which private enterprise had created.

Ordnance engineers, it seems, are well on the way to a solution of the problem of the motorization of field artillery. The problem of motorization of light artillery has been a constant factor in slowing up the advance of troops to await the bringing forward of their supporting guns. Tractors have been used by all nations, of course, to haul heavy pieces along good roads, but they have been unable to develop tractors for hauling light pieces over shell-shattered ground. On June 3 the Ordnance Department demonstrated a 5-ton armored artillery tractor which proved capable of negotiating the most difficult terrain, hauling a 4.7 howitzer which weighed approximately 9,000 pounds.

Approximately \$90,000,000 are being spent to provide for the manufacture of nitrates, which are essential in the manufacture of explosives, but which have heretofore had to be procured from Chile. The building of these plants will add to our powder output, will have large amounts of cargo space, and it is supposed after the war will produce nitrate for fertilizing American farms.

Port facilities in France: Among the most dramatic stories of the war is that of the development by American engineers and American enterprises of port facilities on the French coast. It is not permissible to say where this development has taken place, but the scope of it may be judged by the fact that it would be possible to handle during the month of July a maximum of 750,000 tons at the ports of the American Army in France.

It was necessary, before troops of the American Expeditionary Force could be landed, to send an organization of foresters into the woods of France, to send knocked down sawmills after them, to cut down trees, to shape them into timbers, and to build them into docks in order that our troops might leave their ships.

Vast as this work was and large as the flow of troops has been accelerated, the facilities for dockage have kept pace with the shipments of troops and supplies.

Morale of the Army: Consensus of opinion is that drunkenness in the Army is completely under control, both in the United States and in France. General Pershing states:

"As there is little beer sold in France, men who drink are thus limited to the light native wines used by all French people. Even this is discouraged among our troops in every possible way."

You may travel for weeks in France without seeing an intoxicated American soldier. In the *Congressional Record*, on or about March 31, there is reprinted the statement of a journalist in France, beginning:

"Every one is on the water wagon at the American front. During the past month I have been at the front daily and often twice a day, seeing thousands of American soldiers. In that time I saw exactly one man drunk, and one other who was under the influence of liquor."

The Third Assistant Secretary of War, in ten days at a National Army camp adjacent to Chicago, saw two men intoxicated.

There is no permanent military camp in the United States with a red-light district in its vicinity.

The Commission on Classification of Personnel reports that a surprisingly large proportion of the recruits ask to be placed in the most hazardous branches of the military service. If a reply is needed to those who say that the men of the National Army are in camp because they have to be, it is this, that those same men are going over the top because they want to go.

THE FACTS REFUTE PARTISANSHIP CHARGE

MANY REPUBLICANS, PROGRESSIVES, AND INDEPENDENTS CALLED INTO WAR SERVICE BY WILSON—TAFT HEADS THE LIST—HUGHES, WILCOX, SCHWAB, COFFIN, AND CROWELL AMONG THOSE AIDING GOVERNMENT IN WASHINGTON

Washington, D. C.—The charge made by certain Republican politicians that the Wilson Administration is offensively partisan is refuted by the facts. The statement has been made that only Democrats have been called by the President to Washington to aid him in the great task of winning the war. This statement has been repeated so often in so many parts of the country that it is fair to assume that the author or authors of it seek to create the impression that the President takes the narrow view that only Democrats are worthy of his confidence.

A perusal of the list of prominent Republicans, Progressives, and Independents now engaged in war work in the national capital furnishes convincing proof that the President has disregarded politics in selecting men of ability needed for war work. While it is true that many Democrats of capacity are doing their full share towards winning the war, and have made great sacrifices in order to serve the country at this critical period, it is equally true that men of other political affiliations have answered the call of the President.

There are literally thousands of men and women holding positions in Washington today under the Wilson Administration who have consistently supported Republican candidates. The call for help has been general and the response has been general. Neither the President nor any of his cabinet has given any thought to politics in choosing men for responsible positions.

TAFT HEADS THE LIST

The list of Republicans working side by side with Democrats in Washington is headed by no less a personage than William H. Taft, former President of the United States. Mr. Taft is the chairman of the War Labor Board and also is the chairman of the Central Committee of the American Red Cross and a

member of the Red Cross War Council. His latter position carries with it the rank of Major General in the Army.

Charles E. Hughes, late Republican nominee for President, and as such the titular head of the Republican Party, has recently been called into service by President Wilson to investigate the aeroplane situation.

Charles M. Schwab, of Pennsylvania, president of the Bethlehem Steel Company, who recently was made director general of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, is a Republican. Five other officials of the Shipping Board also are either Republicans or Progressives. They are Bainbridge Colby, of New York; Edward F. Cary, of Illinois, Director of Operations; Charles Piez, of Chicago, Vice-President of the Fleet Corporation; J. O. Hayworth, of Chicago, Chief of the Division of Wooden Ships, and Edward B. Burling, Chief Counsel of the Shipping Board.

Two of the principal officials of the State Department are Republicans. They are William Phillips, of Massachusetts, Assistant Secretary of State, and the third ranking officer of the department, and Lester W. Woolsey, of New York, Solicitor of the department.

In the Treasury Department a number of Republicans and Progressives are holding responsible positions. Three of them are L. S. Rowe, of Pennsylvania, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; R. C. Leffingwell, of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and Frank A. Vanderlip, of New York, Chairman of the War Savings Stamps Committee.

BAKER'S CHIEF AID

In the War Department four of Secretary Baker's principal advisers are Republicans. They are Benedict Crowell, of Ohio, First Assistant Secretary of War, who was acting Secretary of War during Secretary Baker's absence in Europe; Dr. Frederick P. Keppel, Dean of Columbia University of New York, Assistant Secretary of War; Edwin R. Stettinius, of New York, Assistant Secretary of War, and Emmett J. Scott, of Alabama special assistant to the Secretary of War. Scott, who is a negro, formerly was private secretary to the late Booker T. Washing-

ton and was selected to look after the interests of the colored troops.

While regular army officers as a rule do not participate in politics it is a well known fact that many officers at the head of the Army are classed as Republicans. These include General John J. Pershing, who is the son-in-law of Senator Warren, of Wyoming, the ranking Republican member of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs; Major General George W. Goethals, Assistant Chief of Staff and acting Quartermaster General; Major General Enoch H. Crowder, Provost Marshal General; Major General William Crozier, Chief of Ordnance; Major General Leonard Wood, Division Commander; and Major Charles B. Warren, Republican National Committeeman from Michigan, who is in charge of appeal cases under the Provost Marshal General. Three Republicans of prominence among many who have been given commissions in the Army, are Robert Bacon, of New York, former Secretary of State and former Ambassador to France, who is a Colonel in the Quartermaster Corps in France; H. L. Stimson, of New York, former Secretary of War, and is a Colonel in the Field Artillery in France, and Major John Callan O'Laughlin, who was Assistant Secretary of State under Roosevelt.

HELP ATTORNEY GENERAL

In the Department of Justice John Lord O'Brien, of New York, who was the United States District Attorney of the western district of New York under the Taft Administration, is an assistant to the Attorney General. Another Republican in the Department of Justice is A. Bruce Bielaski, of Washington, who is the chief of the Secret Service of the Department of Justice.

William R. Willcox, until recently the chairman of the Republican National Committee, is a member of the Federal Railway Wage Commission.

Five of the eight members of the War Trade Board are Republicans. They are Albert Strauss, of New York, Alonzo E. Taylor, of Pennsylvania; John Beaver White of New York,

Frank C. Munson, of New York, and Clarence M. Woodley, of Chicago.

In the Council of National Defense there are many Republicans, including Walter S. Gifford, of Massachusetts, chairman, and Grosvenor B. Clarkson, of New York, secretary. Others are A. W. Shaw, Michigan, chairman of the Commercial Economy Board; Roy D. Chapin, Michigan, chairman of the Highway Transportation Committee; L. A. Coolidge, Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Welfare Work; Dr. Franklin Martin, Illinois, chairman of the General Medical Board; Robert S. Brookings, Missouri, War Industries Board; Dr. Hollis Godfrey, Pennsylvania, Commissioner of the University Section and Secondary School Section; George N. Peek, Illinois, Industrial Representative of the War Industries Board; George F. Porter, Illinois, chairman of the section on Coöperation with States; Howard E. Coffin, Michigan, chairman of the Aircraft Board, and Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, a member of the Advisory Commission.

RED CROSS OFFICIALS

The Red Cross War Council is largely made up of Republicans. In addition to former President Taft, Republican members of this important body include Henry P. Davison, New York, chairman; Cornelius N. Bliss, New York, former Treasurer of the Republican National Committee, and Charles D. Norton, of New York, secretary to Mr. Taft when he was President.

The Federal Fuel Administrator, as is well known, is Dr. Harry A. Garfield, son of former President Garfield. Dr. Garfield always was a Republican until he supported President Wilson for election.

While never active in politics, Herbert Hoover, the Federal Food administrator, always voted the Republican ticket during his residence in California.

A WELL-LAID PLOT

IT BECOMETH AND BEHOOVETH MR. WADSWORTH, MR. LODGE,
MR. CHAMBERLAIN, MR. ROOSEVELT, AND ALL THEIR PHON-
OGRAPHIC CULT TO CHIRP LIKE A CRICKET, NOT ROAR LIKE
A LION

(An editorial by former Gov. Martin H. Glynn, of New York,
in the *Times-Union*, Albany, N. Y., Jan. 28, 1918)

Today the people of this country can be divided into two camps.

Those who wanted war at any price.

And those who hoped for peace, if peace could be maintained without the sacrifice of national honor.

Now, we are at war, and we have the astonishing anomaly of the leaders of the "war buzzards" trying to gnaw the vitals out of our Commander-in-Chief, while the great majority of those who stood for peace while peace spelled honor are upholding the President's hands as Aaron and Hur upheld the hands of Moses in his battle with Amalek.

The present volcanic attack against the war policies of President Wilson is no haphazard incident. It is a well-laid plot, nicely trained and strategically timed. Its purpose, no matter how secretive its sponsors, how insinuating its methods, how seductive its arguments, is to give the Republican Party a majority in the next House of Representatives and to pave the way for a Republican President in 1920. From a political point of view this may be tolerable; from a patriotic aspect, in a national crisis like this, it is odious and detestable.

The business of the Nation today is to win the war, and the political leaders, who for party gain or personal aim lay the slightest obstacle in the way of the happy consummation of this business, clothe themselves in a diabolical livery and surround their political machinations with a brimstone scent, a sulphurous odor offensive to people who revere patriotism in politics, but abhor politics in patriotism.

For months Col. Roosevelt has been injecting politics into the

war through his articles in the *Kansas City Star* and *Metropolitan Magazine*. With craft and caution he has planted a bomb, intended to blow President Wilson out of political existence, and in this "Guy Fawkes" plot he has had the unctious assistance of Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, and the crafty support of Senator Wadsworth, of New York. But cunning and unctiousness cannot win a contest like this. The mountain of truth is too big to be discolored by such daubing brushes, the facts too potent to be minimized by impish dissimulation or distorted by cunning castigation.

The Bible says he who draws the sword shall perish by the sword. Well, Roosevelt and his followers first drew the political sword in this dispute, and with their assumptive valor they should not cry for quarter before the blade of their own rapier.

For 16 years before the present Democratic administration the Republican Party was the custodian of the welfare of this Nation, and in all these sixteen years it did but little to put this country on a basis of adequate preparation for war. Grover Cleveland started the American Navy on its way to imperial strength, but Theodore Roosevelt, as President of the United States, inaugurated a naval program that curtailed the Cleveland policy. Great as our Navy is today, it would be far greater still if the policy of Cleveland had prevailed and the plans of Roosevelt buried in the bottom of the sea. And as it was with the Navy, so was it with the Army, for Theodore Roosevelt left the Army of the United States weaker than he had found it seven years before.

No sooner, however, had Woodrow Wilson, with his panoramic view of the history of the world in peace time and in war time, his thorough knowledge of democratic aspirations and economic possibilities, his sympathy with the masses and his consideration of the classes—no sooner had he become President of the United States than the wheels of progress were set in motion to equip this Nation as years before she should have been equipped for the solution of pressing national problems and the handling of contingencies of an international nature.

The rehearsal of all the legislation of President Wilson to carry out this progressive program would be superfluous here.

The world knows it by heart. It insures him a splendid place in the annals of statesmanship. It is the unmistakable triumph of the democratic yearning with which the heart of mankind throbs and pulses today. And it carried Woodrow Wilson to wonderful victory in 1916 against an avalanche of money and a labyrinth of intrigue.

His Federal reserve bank law, which Mulhall, the famous English economist, said was of more worth to the world than the Panama Canal, saved this country, with the advent of the war, from the most stupendous panic in history and enabled us to ride the tumultuous waters of "world-war" finance with hardly a squeak or a tremor of our old ship of state. Without this Federal reserve bank today the United States would be grinding and pounding on the rocks of disaster.

Nor is this all.

From a vision almost prophetic came the Federal revenue bill, which wrung a lordly portion of governmental revenue from internal taxes instead of from tariff imposts, which under the baneful influence of war dwindled to a sum insufficient to provide lubrication for our gears of Government, let alone provide fuel for the Treasury boiler that makes the wheels of national life go round.

Our national experience since the war started must carry conviction to every fair-minded American that for these two measures alone we owe an ineffable debt of gratitude to the wisdom and statesmanship of Woodrow Wilson.

And of our military realm we have the self-same tale.

Theodore Roosevelt may indulge himself in all the weird juggling of language that pleases his fancy; he may insensate himself in such inspirational riot of emotional frenzy as may give fire to his tongue and flare to his imagination; but the fact remains undeniable, ineffaceable, irrevocable, that in two years of *ante bellum* days Woodrow Wilson did more to put our army and our Navy on a footing of war than Both William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt did in the whole 11 years of their supine reign.

During these two years preparedness for a possible war was pushed by President Wilson as fast as the sentiment of the

country would permit and quite as fast as even the most violent of his present-day critics then deemed expedient or politic.

Suddenly, however, conditions created by the autocratic dogmatism of Germany disregarding treaties and throwing promises to the winds hurled us into the seething whirlpool of war. Then the very men who had been at the helm of the ship of state for 16 years, the men whose policies had weakened the Army and stunted the Navy, began to howl because we could not equip a million men overnight and put them in the trenches of France in a day. They forgot the experience of England; they forgot the experience of France; they forgot their own neglect of our martial strength; they forgot everything but their own personal advertisement and their own political advancement.

Mythology tells us that Minerva sprang full-armed from the mind of Jupiter, and despite the fact that the age for mythological miracles has passed, these acrimonious critics demanded that the United States whittle rifles out of the air and by some sort of prestidigitorial art transform a million civilians into full-trained soldiers between the sinking and the rising of the sun. What these critics had failed to do in 16 years, they insist that Woodrow Wilson should do in 16 days. The wind listeth in the night, the dew falls, the stars come out, the moon works her magic charms, and behold at dawn a full-grown mushroom whitens the lawn where at sunset only an embryonic stalk struggled in the grass. This is the kind of marvel, this the kind of impossible legerdermain that Colonel Roosevelt and his school demand should be duplicated in our military world. They demand that an invincible army be created overnight out of wind and dew, starlight and moonshine. But they fail to provide the Aladdin's lamp with which to work the miracle; they fail to furnish the necromantic art wherewith to ram into a night the task of a decade.

And this miracle, too, they demand in the teeth of the hoary-headed truth that from the days of Washington, Franklin, and Adams this Nation has set its face against a militaristic policy. A large Army, a potential Military Establishment, has been the ghost that has given this country sleepless nights for 140 years; a factitious ghost, perhaps, but nevertheless a ghost hypnotic in

its influence and awesome in its sway. And the Navy, too, has been hampered by a short-sighted sentiment of the great interior part of the country, whose congressional Representatives persistently opposed large naval appropriations from fear of retrenchment against the "home-town" projects of their own native heaths. For this ingrained repugnance to a big Army, an adequate Navy, neither the Republicans of today nor the Democrats of today are to blame. The fault lies at the door of the predominant sentiment of the Nation since 1776. And as we have sown, so today we reap.

Gen. Winfield Scott, one of the world's greatest soldiers, compressed an historic situation in a nutshell when he said, "Republics are never prepared for war."

The business of a republic is peace; the business of autocracies is war.

Autocracy lives by the sword. The father and grandfather of Frederick the Great said so; Frederick himself said so; and so saith the Kaiser, and the Crown Prince, too.

A love and a craving for peace, however, form the very genesis of a republic. To this genesis republics are true; from this genesis republics depart only at the call of honor or the command of necessity.

Hence it is, though critics may forget, the people remember, that in eight months of war the United States, under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson, has done twice as much, and even more than England and France did in the corresponding period of time. The accusations, the exaggerations, the fabrications, the distortions of supercilious censors and envious-fanged contemnors of the Wilsonian policies wear such a flimsy gossamer covering as to expose this political plot in all its naked hideousness.

We make no claim that the administration has created sunbeams out of cucumbers or performed feats beyond the pale of human possibility, but we do maintain that its efforts have been amazing, its accomplishments beyond compare in the history of modern warfare.

We have not whipped the Kaiser yet, but we will whip him if caluminating critics do not dampen the fires of enthusiasm or

grease the track whereon must ride our national chariots of war. We have more men in France today than Roosevelt knows or Germany suspects, and a million more are waiting for the ships.

We have an Army so well cared for that the death rate in our ranks for the four months ending January 1, 1918, averaged only 7.5 per thousand—a death rate, mind you, less than the death rate for men of a like age in peaceful avocations at home. Compare this with the death rate of 20.14 per thousand under the good old Republican rule of the days of the Spanish-American War. Compare these figures, and then applaud the Roosevelt charges, if you can!

True, we have made some mistakes, but in the magnitude of our undertaking some mistakes were inevitable, unavoidable. In balance though with the wondrous achievements these mistakes have been trivial and not worthy of the attention of the men who minimize their talents by trying to magnify molehills into mountains.

And, furthermore, unlike the Spanish-American War, in which Mr. Roosevelt was a king-pin:

We have no Army contract scandals.

We have no embalmed-beef horrors.

We have no fat, old generals going to war in carriages and leading battle charges from easy rocking chairs.

We have no unpleasant gossip about the appointment of political generals and society admirals.

We have no round-robin letters from presumptuous and inferior officers demoralizing discipline and exalting self.

In the face of these facts the wild rantings of Roosevelt and his fellow political conspirators are boomerangs, pestilential to the ears and revolting to the sensibilities of others, but harmful only to the men who hurl them. On the estimation of thoughtful people these critics make no indelible impression. They may ruffle the surface of the pool of comment, but they stir not the depths of public opinion. And with Roosevelt, Lodge, and Wadsworth as the chief creators of this curtain of camouflage political fire, fed by the tissues of ambitious misrepresentation, fanned by the sinister winds of political oratory, there

stalks forth from memory's closet the skeleton of Alger's embalmed beef with its concomitant stench; there looms into view the commander of the United States forces in Cuba, too fat to ride a horse, going into battle in a carriage, and lolling in a portable bathtub while our soldiers had no medicine to conquer tropic ills; there looms into view this self-same commander of the United States forces in Cuba fighting his battles from the sensuous folds of a soporific hammock, while through the stupidity and carelessness of an inefficient military medical force our soldier boys found typhoid fever more deadly than bullets from the Spanish guns.

And so, in view of these verities which no political manipulation can snatch from history's page; in view of the official funeral-hued glories and the official scarlet-tinged scandals of the Spanish-American War; in view of Alger's embalmed beef of odoriferous memory; in view of inferior ships purchased by the Government at superior prices; in view of the stigma and disgrace that typhoid fever killed more of our soldiers than Spanish bullets sent to their graves; in view of the cable which Dewey cut to save the Navy from the malefic influence of Republican politics at Washington; in view of Army contracts which brought a blush to the cheek and rage to the heart of the Nation; in view of the attempt to deprive Schley of his share of glory in the Santiago victory; in view of the papier-maché generals created as a sort of "iron-cross" reward for services rendered the good old Republican Party on many a bloodless field of politics; in view, in fine, of the the bathos and the pathos of flagrant Republican mismanagement in the Spanish-American War, it becometh and behooveth Mr. Wadsworth, Mr. Lodge, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Roosevelt, and all their phonographic cult to chirp like a cricket, not roar like a lion.

HANDS OF ESAU; VOICE OF JACOB

(*Raleigh News and Observer*)

Election day is only four months off—120 days, and control of State and Nation will be fixed for two critical years.

It is, from any point of view, an important election. In

North Carolina we will elect one United States Senator, ten Congressmen, three Justices of the Supreme Court, ten Superior Court Judges, two Corporation Commissioners, twenty Solicitors, one hundred Clerks of Court, a General Assembly, and the county officers in one hundred counties.

We cannot be indifferent to an election that involves the control of the legislative and judicial departments of our Commonwealth. We cannot be indifferent to an election that involves the control of both House of our National Congress.

And yet all of these, and no less, is involved. There was never a more important election.

Some good men are saying that on account of the war we should have no campaign. What does this mean but that the Democratic party shall refuse to defend its record—shall remain silent while a thousand gumshoe Republicans whisper all manner of misrepresentations abroad? What does this mean but that we shall give the children of evil—who love darkness rather than light—the chance they have long sought, to whisper all manner of false rumors over the State?

The Democratic Party must live in the light—it must set forth its record. It can meet its critics only in the open—as it ever has. A silent campaign is all that is desired by those who cannot maintain their cause in the open.

The fact that we are in the midst of war is an additional argument for an open campaign. We must know how every candidate stands. There is but one issue before us—the issue of loyalty to our Flag. But in a silent campaign the tongue of sedition, of back-biting, of disloyal pacifism will go unchallenged. What more could the German vote ask? Men will whisper all manner of evil along the by-ways of the State. And—in a silent campaign—they will be unanswered.

We do not believe that our Republican leaders mean to have a really campaignless year—all they desire is that we shall have no public discussion, in order that their whisperings may not be answered.

Things are better in politics for being cried out from the house-tops. Pure politics demands the light—the light of public discussion.

The Republican National Chairman has recently been caught in the act of trying to raise one million five hundred thousand dollars for his campaign this year. If he means to have no campaign, what will he do with all this money? Why leave off just the speaking feature of the campaign? Will the Republicans agree to spend no money in North Carolina? Will they agree to circulate no literature in North Carolina? If not, why should the Democrats agree to send out no speakers? If they will not agree to lay down their weapons, why should we?

The proposal, coming from Republicans, is readily understood. They have never been able to put up a strong speaking campaign; they are wanting both in speakers and in speaking material. Of course they want a silent campaign. It is their only hope.

It is to be recognized, of course, that the interest in the war will eclipse the interest in party; but it should not eclipse the interest in country. It is just as important as it ever was that the Supreme Court of North Carolina be Democratic; it is just as important as it ever was that the Legislature of North Carolina be Democratic; it is just as important as it ever was that our Superior Courts be officered by Democrats; it is just as important as it ever was that our counties be administered by Democrats and

It is more important than it ever was that the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States be composed of men true to the heart in their fidelity to the President of the United States.

He has only a narrow party majority in either House, and he has no assurance of unfaltering support from the Republicans. In fact, those led by Roosevelt are only waiting the opportunity to give him a vote of no confidence. In the first year of the war they threatened it three times.

Governor Bickett's proposal contemplated not a silent campaign, but no campaign at all. There is a big difference. It meant that the status quo should be preserved. But the Republicans rejected this with scorn, and they have put out their ticket

everywhere they think they have a chance. They come proposing that we leave off only the public discussion. It is rather shrewd. It is plausible enough to take in the unwary. But the people of North Carolina understand—the hands are the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob.

In this coming campaign the people shall know how the party leaders stand. It will be fought out in the open. That is the only manner in which a man or party with a good cause can afford to fight.

The Republicans know they cannot carry this State in an open campaign, they cannot stand the light of public discussion. In the disguise of patriotic interests in the war they are conspiring to take control.

“To your tents, O Israel.”

We rest our case upon the things we have accomplished as an earnest of what we will accomplish if continued in power.—*Speaker Champ Clark.*

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